

Arbeitspapiere des Wissenschaftlichen Zentrums für Berufs-
und Hochschulforschung an der Gesamthochschule Kassel

Nr. 17

Maresi Nerad

IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS - A NEW
MAGIC TOOL FOR RESEARCH IN
HIGHER EDUCATION

or

17 Why Don't We Learn From History
in the Case of the West German
Gesamthochschule

Kassel 1984

ARBEITSPAPIERE

Herausgeber: Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für
Berufs- und Hochschulforschung
an der Gesamthochschule Kassel

Redaktion: Gabriele Gorzka

c 1984 - Alle Rechte vorbehalten
Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für
Berufs- und Hochschulforschung
Gesamthochschule Kassel
Henschelstraße 2
D-3500 Kassel
Tel.: 0561/804 2415

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword (Ulrich Teichler)	1
1. The German Gesamthochschule - a Worth-While Case Study Testing the Implementation Approach	4
2. Basic Facts on the Gesamthochschule	6
2.1 Dissatisfaction with the Old University	6
2.2 Formulation of Goals	7
2.3 Goals versus Outcomes	7
3. Implementation: A New Research Area and Policy Analysis Approach	12
3.1 Planning-Control Approach or Managerial Model	13
3.2 Interaction Approach or Bargaining Model	15
3.3 Evolutionary Approach or Learning Model	16
3.4 An Analytical Paradigm for Implementation Research	17
4. On Choosing an Implementation Approach	20
5. What Do We Learn for Future Implementation	24
6. Learning from History	27
Notes	30
Appendix	33
Bibliography	42

VORWORT

Der hier vorgelegte Bericht von Maresi Nerad beabsichtigt, ausländischen Lesern sowohl die Entwicklung des Hochschulsystems als auch den Stellenwert ausgewählter Forschungsansätze in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vor Augen zu führen. Sie zeigt auf, in welchem Kontext sich die Idee der Gesamthochschulen entwickelt hat und welche Erfahrungen im Implementationsprozeß gewonnen wurden. Dabei werden ausführlich die Ergebnisse der Studie über die Implementation von Gesamthochschulen dargestellt, die wir vor einiger Zeit publiziert haben.¹

Der Beitrag von Maresi Nerad soll jedoch nicht als Buchbesprechung verstanden werden, sondern hat seine eigenen Akzente. Insbesondere für den ausländischen Leser stellt er die Diskussion über Gesamthochschulen und deren Auswirkungen in einen weiteren Kontext von Entwicklungstendenzen des Bildungssystems und der Bildungspolitik. Vor allem macht Maresi Nerad am Beispiel der Gesamthochschulentwicklung deutlich, wie verschiedene Denkansätze der Implementationsforschung die Wahrnehmung und Interpretation von Politikern und deren praktische Umsetzung prägen. So wird deutlich, wie wichtig es bei der Lektüre wissenschaftlicher Analysen des Hochschulsystems ist, sich auch mit den zugrundeliegenden Forschungsansätzen auseinanderzusetzen.

Aylâ Neusel

Ulrich Teichler

¹ Cerych, Ladislav; Neusel, Aylâ; Teichler, Ulrich; Winkler, Helmut: Gesamthochschule - Erfahrungen, Hemmnisse, Zielwandel. Frankfurt und New York: Campus 1981.

Cerych, Ladislav; Neusel, Aylâ; Teichler, Ulrich; Winkler, Helmut: Implementation of Higher Education Reforms: The German Gesamthochschule. Paris: European Cultural Foundation. Institute of Education. 1981.

FOREWORD

The following paper aims to inform non-German readers about developments of higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany and to assess various research approaches. It describes the context in which the concept of the comprehensive university emerged and the experiences gathered in the process of implementation. Maresi Nerad refers in detail to the findings of a study which we published some time ago.¹

The paper by Maresi Nerad is, however, not merely a book review, but it is an analysis in its own right. It discusses the development of the comprehensive university in broader context of trends in education as well as in education policy. It especially emphasises the impact a choice of various implementation theories might have on the perception and interpretation of implementation processes. Thus, the author suggests that readers of educational system analyses ought to be aware of the underlying approaches and the role they play in research.

Aylâ Neusel

Ulrich Teichler

¹ Cerych, Ladislav; Neusel, Aylâ; Teichler, Ulrich; Winkler, Helmut: Implementation of Higher Education Reforms: The German Gesamthochschule. Paris: European Cultural Foundation. Institute of Education. 1981.

Cerych, Ladislav; Neusel, Aylâ, Teichler, Ulrich; Winkler, Helmut: Gesamthochschule - Erfahrungen, Hemmnisse, Zielwandel. Frankfurt und New York: Campus 1981.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it reviews the current literature on implementation with particular emphasis on the latest German literature (not yet translated into English). Secondly, it reflects upon the use of implementation analysis as a means both for *a n a l y s i s* and for *p r e d i c t i o n* of higher education reforms in Germany.

Using the recently published implementation study of the German *Gesamthochschule*¹, this paper argues that the implementation approach is useful as an analytical tool for the analysis of the *Gesamthochschul-Reform* but does not help determine the success or failure of the reform. It concludes that the researcher's perspective on the subject will largely determine any final evaluation.

Further, it will be argued that the analytical quality of the approach is only of limited use for predictions of outcomes and for prescriptions of successful implementation strategies. Lessons from history might guide us as well in our search for clues for tomorrow.

This paper does not attempt to review the study of the *Gesamthochschule*. The interested reader is referred to the excellent, short, English publication of The Institute of Education of the European Cultural Foundation in Paris (December, 1981).²

1. The German Gesamthochschule, a Worth-While Case Study Testing the Implementation Approach

The Gesamthochschule* (Comprehensive University) has been defined as a "higher education institution bringing together and associating in one form or another hitherto separated types of German higher education, in particular universities or technical universities, teacher training colleges (Pädagogische Hochschulen), technical colleges (Fachhochschulen) and possibly also, Fine-Art Colleges (Kunst- und Musikhochschulen)."³ This description already indicates the absence of a clear definition of the term GHS and shows the wide range of aspects covered.

The idea of the Gesamthochschule concept emerged in 1970, as an answer to the widely debated necessity of university reform in West Germany. The principal issue was the adaptation to mass education at the university level. The concept of the GHS tried to tie together several reform ideas. These ideas ranged from economic considerations, such as increasing the number of highly qualified young people and assuring the international competitiveness of the German economy ("Educational Catastrophe" - Bildungskatastrophe, Georg Picht, 1963) to the democratic ideal of equal opportunity for all citizens ("Education is a citizen's right" - Bildung ist Bürgerrecht, Ralf Dahrendorf, 1965). Three overall goals were meant to be accomplished with the establishment of the Gesamthochschule, which was set out to become the organizational model for all German higher education institutions. These were:

- changed access policy in higher education,
- articulation between levels of the vertical structure of the different higher education institutions,
- expansion of higher education offerings through the inclusion of more applied courses.

Ten years later, comparing the outcomes with the intended, though vague, goals, we find that the GHS did not become the organizational pattern for all German universities. The reform experienced a fate similar to that of many grand plans. Goal distortion, partial achievements, dissolution of the

* In the following, I will use the abbreviation GHS.

initial aims or their replacement by other objectives are phenomena well known in policy implementation analysis. But they have very rarely been studied with regard to higher education reforms.

The GHS is a very interesting and at the same time very difficult case for the study of the implementation process. It is i n t e r e s t i n g because several implementation processes within one reform policy can simultaneously be observed. Federalism in Germany creates a quasi-experimental situation. Both the effects of modification of the program and the effects of different implementation strategies in the eleven Länder (states) can be observed. It is a very d i f f i c u l t case due to the complexity of the reform.

The implementation study of the German Gesamthochschule hoped to answer the following questions:

- How successful was the GHS program in accomplishing the three basic goals?
- Did the selected strategies match the goals?
- Is it enough looking at governmental planning policies for social change, when we adequately want to analyse the GHS?
- Can we find a distinctive implementation pattern in the higher education field as compared to housing, social services, or the private sector?
- What are the contributions and limitations of the implementation approach for the analysis of the reform events of the past decade?

This paper will focus on the l a s t question and will reflect on what we can learn from this study about the use of the implementation approach for future programs and better strategies. But first, some basic facts about the GHS reform might ease the pursuit of the discussion on the use of the implementation analysis.

2. Basic Facts on the Gesamthochschule

2.1 Dissatisfaction with the Old University

Since the mid-sixties the university reform has become a major issue in West Germany. The organization and administration of the German university as well as its mode of research and instruction, established in the early 19th century, was still in existence in the early sixties. Even the Allies after 1945 had not fundamentally questioned its structure. At latest in 1963, with the book of Picht, Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe (the German educational catastrophe), the crisis in German education became publicly apparent.

Factors contributing to this situation were the authoritarian structure of the ordinarian university, the social exclusiveness of its students (only 6 % from working class background), the uncoordinated and outdated curricula, and the inefficient and often irrelevant practical training, particularly in the natural sciences. However, the main reasons for the crisis were perceived as q u a n t i t a t i v e .

Student enrollments had increased rapidly from 195,670 in 1952 to 305,386 in 1970.⁴ OECD publications of the sixties and the studies by Denison (1962)⁵ and Schulz (1962)⁶ emphasizing the relationship between economic growth and investment in schools, higher education and research created great anxiety among the German politicians and educational policy makers. It was thought that West Germany was in danger of becoming a nation which leased patents on inventions developed elsewhere. As a means of warding off the danger of a "technological gap," drastic increases in the number of secondary school graduates were proposed, and these graduates were to receive a more practically oriented higher education. 'Talent reserves' were discovered in predominantly Catholic areas, in rural areas, among the children of workers and farmers and among women.⁷

The motives of the key actors of the reform - students and non-tenured faculty (Assistenten) -, however, were non-economic ones. They were interested in changing content and structure of study and research at the university.

2.2 Formulation of Goals

Between 1967 and 1972 educators and the three political parties (SPD, FDP, CDU/CSU)⁸ developed a multitude of concepts and plans encompassing three central goals (see Figure 1).

(1) The eased transfer was expected to reduce irregularity of opportunity according to social background and sex. In addition, it was hoped the establishment of comprehensive universities would reduce regional disparities in the supply to colleges.

(2) The synthesis of the scientific orientation of the universities with the practical orientation of the non-university institutions of higher education was considered appropriate for the needs of modern society and was depicted as more socially just. A more practice-oriented higher education system was expected on the one hand to increase the social responsibility of scholars and on the other hand to prepare students to act as responsible citizens.

(3) The creation of shorter routes in higher education (4 - 5 years as against 6 - 7 years of traditional university study) was expected to satisfy the increased demand for higher education and the need for more qualified labour while reducing the cost for each student.

2.3 Goals versus Outcomes

Goals (Figure 2): In 1970, the Federal Ministry of Science and Education proposed the Gesamthochschule to become the one organizational model for all German higher education. Within the Gesamthochschul-System students would be able to choose between different levels of training. The curriculum was to be more oriented toward occupational requirements, while vocational courses were to become more theoretical and academic. Cerych et al.

classify the many objectives according to their underlying motivations.

The objectives related to:

- equality of opportunity and individual development;
- a "radical-democratic" concept of social change;
- improving the capacity and performance of German higher education.

Outcomes (Figure 3): Ten years later, according to Cerych⁹, the results are meagre if compared to the far-reaching goal of establishing a new system of higher education.

Figure 1: From Dissatisfaction to Goal Formation

